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THE GOPĀLARĀJAVAMŚĀVALĪ

A facsimile edition prepared by the NEPAL RESEARCH CENTRE in collaboration with the NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Kathmandu. With an introduction, a transcription, Nepali and English translations, a glossary and indices.

The Vamśāvalī King-lists

A careful analysis of the Vamśāvalī king-lists and comparison of these lists with positive chronology show certain basic syndromes.

The *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* has, for instance, the following kings who are not available in Kaisher Vamśāvalī or in Kirkpatrick or in the inscriptions: Campādeva, Jivagupta, Mānavarmā, Mahipāla, Devaladeva, and Vasantadeva. Both Abridged Vamśāvalī and Kirkpatrick repeat Viṣṇugupta, Bhimārjunadeva, Jayadeva and Baladeva, though with different regnal years.

Several kings available in the inscriptions are missing from the Vamśāvalī lists, such as Vāmanadeva, Rāmadeva, Gaṅgādeva, Dhruvadeva and Jayadeva II. On the other hand, we do not yet have any historical documents for several kings mentioned in these king-lists, such as Kṛtavarmā, Vardhamānadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, and Javadeva III.

Similarly, for medieval period, the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* commits the error of omission of 4 historically attested kings:

Śaṅkaradeva	NS 40
Nirbhayadeva	NS 125
Bhojadeva-Rudradeva	NS 132

The VK omits Jayadeva, the founder of the half kingdom of Lalitpur and Bhāskaradeva (NS 165-167), the refractory feudatory of Patan. Kirkpatrick omits Śaṅkaradeva (NS 189-203). Both Kirkpatrick and Abridged Vamśāvalī omit Cūṇakāmadeva (NS 305-316), the legendary founder of Kathmandu.

Another major syndrome is one of divergence among the king-lists. For medieval period, the lists diverge on an interesting point: the inclusion or omission of the three early medieval kings:

Jayadeva : included in V_1 , omitted in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Sahadeva : Omitted in V_1 , included in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Vikramadeva: Omitted in VK and Kirkpatrick, included in V_1 , VG.

None of these three kings has so far been attested historically in any other documents. Whether they were contemporaries ruling two or three kingdoms, or joint rulers of the same kingdom, or rulers succeeding one after another is at present a subject of conjecture.

The Licchavis

<i>Gopālarājavamśāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
Viśvadeva 100	Viśvadeva 57	Brikh Deo 57 ✓
Mānadeva 41	Śāṅkaradeva 50	Sunker Deo 50 ✓
Śāṅkaradeva 40	Dharmadeva 51	Bhurma Deo 51
Dharmadeva 41	Mānadeva 39	Maun Deo 39 —
Mahideva 41	Mahideva 51	Mahe Deo 51
Vasantadeva 39	Vasantadeva 56	Bussunt Deo 56, ✓
Udayadeva 45	Udayadeva 47	Ondey Deo 47 ✓
Canadeva 45	Mānadeva 45	Maun Deo 45 ✓
Gunakāmadeva 50	Sūnakāmadeva 50	Sookaum Deo 50 ✓
Śivadeva 41.6	Sivadeva 41.6	Seo Deo 41.6 ✓
Campādeva 41.9		
Narendradeva 34	Narendradeva 34	Nurredur Deo 34 ✓
Bhimadeva 14	Bhimadeva 16	Bhema Deo Burmah 16 ✓
Jivagupta 74	Viśnugupta 74	Bishen Gupt 74. ✓
Viśnugupta 71	Viśnugupta 61	Kishnoo Gupt 61
Bhumigupta 45	Bhūmigupta 45	Bhoomy Gupt 40 X
Śivadeva 41	Śivadeva 41	Seo Deo Burmah 41 ✓
Amśuvarmā 43	Amśuvarmā 53	Unghoo Burmah 42
Mānavarmā 65		
Kṛtavarmā 76	Kṛtavarmā 18	Kirtoo Burmah 18 ✓
Mahipala		
Devaladeva 10		
Rhīmarjunadeva 35	Bhīmarjunadeva 37	Bheem Arjoon Deo 39
Narendradeva 13	Narendradeva 13	Nund Deo 13 ✓
Śivadeva 16	Śivadeva 16	Seo Deo 16 ✓
Narendradeva 35	Narīndradeva 37	Nurrender Deo 37 ✓
Baladeva 17	Baladeva 17	Bul Deo 17 ✓
Vardhamānadeva 16	Śāṅkaradeva 12	Sunker Deo 12 ✓
Śāṅkaradeva 12	Vardhamānadeva 16	
Vasantadeva 21	Śāṅkaradeva 12	
	Bhīmarjunadeva 16	
	Jayadeva 19	Bhem Arjoon Deo 16 ✓
	Baladeva 16	Jye Deo 19 ✓
		Sree Bull Deo 16 ✓
<i>Gopālarājavamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kaisher Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Vamśāvalī</i>
Rudradeva 27	(...de)va 26	Candra Deva 27
Jayadeva 42.5	Jayadeva 42.7	Jayadeva 42.7
Baladeva 11	Baladeva 11	Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 21.5	Balārjunadeva 21.5	Balārjunadeva 36.7
Manadeva 36	Mānadeva 36	Mānadeva 36
<i>Gopālarājavamśāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
VII		

Note: The fragmentary *Vāṃśāvalī* at Kaisher Library begins with (Rudradeva only.

Bhāskaradeva *Patant* *Kālīmān*
vn has *golk. Jīkramt Narend* *No Gunakāmadeva*
The Thakurīs *Kālīmān-Pātan*

Gopālārājavamśāvalī *Kaisher Vamśāvalī* *Abridged Vamśāvalī* *Kirkpatrick*

Rāghavadeva 43.6
 Jayadeva 10
 Vikramadeva 8.9
 Narendradeva 1.6
 Gunakāmadeva 85.6
 Udayadeva 5.5
 Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21
 Vijayadeva 31
 Bhāskaradeva 3
 Balavantadeva 12
 Padmadēva 6

Nāgārjunadeva 2
 Sañkaradeva 15
 Vāmadeva 3
 Harsadeva 14
 Sivadeva 27.7
 Indradeva 15
 Mānadeva 4
 Narendradeva 6.5
 Ā(nandadeva) 20
 Rudradeva 8.1
 Amṛtadeva 3.11
 Someśvaradeva 4
 Gunakāmadeva 3
 Vijayakāmadeva 7

Rāghavadeva 63.6
 Sañkaradeva 18.6
 Sahadeva 33.9
 Narendradeva 1.6
 Gunakāmadeva 85.6
 Udayadeva 6
 Nirbhayadeva 5
 Bhojadeva+Rudra-
 deva 9.7

Nāgārjunadeva 3
 Sañkaradeva 17
 Vāmadeva 3
 Harsadeva 16
 Sivadeva 27.7
 Indradeva 12
 Mānadeva 4
 Narendradeva 6.5
 Nandadeva 20
 Rudradeva 8.1
 Amṛtadeva 3.11
 Someśvaradeva 3
 Gunakāmadeva (?)
 (Crowned NS 305
 Pausa Sudi 7,
 Sunday)
 Vijayakāmadeva 6.7

Rāghavadeva 63.8
 Sañkaradeva 18.6
 Sahadeva 33.9
 Vikramadeva
 Narendradeva 1.6*
 Udayadeva 6
 Nirbhayadeva 5
 Bhojadeva+Rudra-
 deva 9.7

Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21
 Jayadeva 20
 Bhāskaradeva+
 Jayadeva 7.4
 Baladeva 12
 Padmadēva 6
 Nāgārjunadeva 3
 Sañkaradeva 17
 Vāmadeva 3
 Harsadeva 16
 Sivadeva 27.7
 Indradeva 12
 Mānadeva 4.7
 Narendradeva 6.4
 Ānandadeva 20
 Amṛtadeva 3.11
 Someśvaradeva 6.3
 (Crowned NS 299
 Kārtik Kṛṣṇa 6,
 Friday)
 Vijayakāmadeva 50.7

Ragheed Deo 63 ← 6
 Seeker Deo 88.6
 Soho Deo 33.9
 Narrender Deo 1.6
 Goonakam Deo 85.6
 Oodoy Deo 6
 Nurbhoy Deo 7 ← 9
 Bhaj Deo Budro 9.7
 Letchmi Camdeo Dutt
 Jye Deo 20, reduced
 refractory tributary
 Bhāskara, of Pata
 Ooday Deo 7.1
 Bull Deo 12
 Puddiem Deo 6
 Naug Arjoon 3
 Bam Deo 3
 Sree Hurkh Deo 16
 Seo Deo 27.7
 Indro Deo 12
 Maun Deo 4.7
 Nurrender Deo 6.4
 Rudro Deo 80.1
 Omret Deo 3.11
 Someesur Deo 6.3

The Early Mallas

<i>Gopālarājavamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kaisher Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Vamśāvalī</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
Ari Malla 25.10	Arimalladeva 31.9	Arimalla 31.9	Any Mull 31.9
Abhaya Malla 42.6	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Obhay Mull 48.2
Jayadeva 2.8	Jayadeva 2.7	Jayadeva 2.7	Jey Deb 2.7
Bhimadeva 13.7			
Jayasiha Malla 2.7			
Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Unwunt Mull Deo 32.10
Ānandadeva (?)	Ānandadeva (?)	Ānandadeva (?)	Jye Nund Deo (?)
Arimalla 24.6 (?) (Crowned NS 440, Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12) (died in an earthquake on Āsvina Śukla 7, 464 (Sept. 14, 1344)	Arimalla	Arimalla	Jye Singh Mull/Jye Ruero Mull
Rājadeva 12.5 (?) (Crowned NS 467, Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 4 died in a fire, NS 481 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8/ Jan. 30, 1361)	Rājadeva (Crowned NS 464, Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 4) (Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors upto Sthitirājamalla)	(Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors, upto Sthitirājamalla)	Naik Deby+Harrir Chunder Deo, Rajah of Banares Raj Letchmi, deposed by Jye Dub, deposed by Hurr Singh Deo, Rajah of Semroun Ghur in December 1323
Arjunadeva (Crowned Vaisākha Śukla 2, 480 died, NS 502 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5) Sthitirājamalla (NS 502, died NS 515 Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 6)			(Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors upto Sthitirājamalla)

The Chronology of Nepalese Kings

This positive chronology is pieced together by collating three main sources -- inscriptions, manuscript colophons, and chronicles.

Our sources for the Licchavis are limited to their inscriptions. For the four centuries of their documented rule, we have nearly 200 inscriptions. This number is, however, misleading as most of the inscriptions are fragmentary and short, containing little or no historical information. The ones containing historical data are not evenly distributed either.

The first ancient inscriptions of Nepal were published a century ago. Controversies still persist on the interpretation of their chronology, particularly on the assignment of two different sets of eras used in these inscriptions to the known epoch eras. The first set of inscriptions is dated between 386-526/535 years; the second set is dated between 29-301 years. The present consensus of opinions among scholars is that the first set is dated according to Śaka Era (founded in A.D. 78) whereas the second set is dated according to Mānadeva Era (founded in A.D. 576). All eras in use in ancient and medieval Nepal are Kārttikādi, i.e., begin on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika (ca. ± October 20).

However, this interpretation of ancient Nepalese chronology has yet to confront an almost insurmountable problem--the problem of interpreting the data of intercalated months available in Licchavi inscriptions. In this connection, Petech's caveat is worth recollecting,

"By no Siddhānta, by no system, with no era,
can we get intercalations at the intervals
stated in the (Licchavi inscriptions)."
Luciano Petech, "The Chronology of the Early
Inscriptions of Nepal", *East and West* XII:2
(December, 1961), p. 230.

What we call the positive chronology of Licchavi kings is thus a shaky list of about 25 names and 30 dates.

For the 320 year rule of the Thakuris we have 24 short, unrevealing, and fragmentary inscriptions. The chronology for this period is pieced together with the help of manuscript colophons. Mercifully, Nepalese scribes noted down, not only the time and place of copying of manuscripts, but also the name of the reigning king. The chronology of "the dark period of Nepalese history" is thus a skeleton structure of 30 names and 45 dates, a few of which are compiled from the chronicles.

Only 18 inscriptions of any consequence have survived from 255-¹⁹⁵⁻ year rule of the early Mallas. Some of their dates are collated from colophons. At this point, however, the chronicles become richer in detail and genealogical data.

Kamal P. Malla

[Jayadeva I]		AD 25
[12 un-named kings]		
[Vṛṣadeva]	57	AD 325 - 382
[Śāṅkaradeva]	40	AD 383 - 422
[Dharmadeva]	41	AD 423 - 463
Mānadeva	41	Saka Era 386-427 (AD 464-505)
[Mahīdeva]	41? = 1?	506?
Vasantadeva	39	428-454
Vāmanadeva		460
Rāmadeva		467
Gaṇadeva	45	482-487
Gaṅgādeva		489
[Mānadeva III]		[498 Founder of a new Era AD 576]
Śivadeva I	416	512-526/535 - 613
Amśuvarmā	48	Mānadeva Era 29-44
Udayadeva		605
Dhruvadeva-Jiṣṇugupta		48-49
Bhimārjunadeva-Jiṣṇugupta	35	55-57
Bhimārjunadeva-Viṣṇugupta	35	64-65
Narendradeva	34/35/35	67-103
Śivadeva II	16	118-129
Jayadeva II	19	137-157
Mānadeva III	16	180
Balīrāja	21-8	250
Baladeva	11	271
Mānadeva IV	36	301 (AD 878) After 13, Sunday

The Thakuris
NS 1/AD 879--NS 320/AD 1200

[Rāghavadeva]	ca. NS 1-39	Founder of Nepāla Samvat on Thursday, October 20, 879.
Śaṅkaradeva		Bhādra Śukla 15, 40
[Jayadeva]		
[Vikramadeva]		
Guṇakāmaṇadeva	Māgha 107-110	
Narendradeva-Udayadeva	Mārga Śukla 15, 119	
Udayadeva	Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 124	
Nirbhayadeva	Caitra Śukla 13, 125	
Nirbhayadeva-Rudradeva	Phālguna Śukla, 128	
Bhojadeva	Jyeṣṭha Śukla 2, 131	
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva	Prathamāśāḍha Śukla, 13, 132	
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva-Lakṣmīkāmaṇadeva	Caitra Śukla 10, 135	
Lakṣmīkāmaṇadeva	Śrāvāṇa Śukla 2, 144-Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 159	
[Vijayadeva]	The ruler of "Half-Kingdom of Lalitpur" (V ₁ 23b:3; VK3:3)	
Bhāskaradeva	Śrāvāṇa Śukla 10, 165-Āśvina Kṛṣṇa 6, 167	
Baladeva	Māgha Śukla 8, 172-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 3, 180	
Pradyumnaṇakāmaṇadeva	Jyeṣṭha Kṛṣṇa 11, 183-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 10, 186	
Nāgārjunadeva	188 -- ?	
Śaṅkaradeva	Āśāḍha Śukla 3, 189-Caitra Śukla 15, 202	
Vāmadeva	Bhādra Kṛṣṇa, 204- ?	
Harsadeva	Vaiśākha Śukla 15, 207-Phālguna Śukla 13, 217	
Śivadeva	219-246 (V ₁ 24a:3)	
Indradeva	Āśāḍha Kṛṣṇa 8, 247-Kārttika Śukla 5, 256	
Mānadeva	Pausa Kṛṣṇa 13, 258-Kārttika Śukla 15, 260	
Narendradeva	Phālguna Śukla 6, 254- Dvipauṣa Śukla 11, 265	
Ānandadeva	the founder of the Kingdom of Bhakta- pur; crowned on Māgha Kṛṣṇa 1, 267 (V ₁ 24b:5) Prathamāśāḍha Kṛṣṇa 5, 267-Phālguna Śukla 11, 286; died 287 ?	

Rudradeva

84

Amṛtadeva

3.11

Someśvaradeva

4

Gunakāmadeva

3

Lakṣmikāmadeva

2

Vijayakāmadeva

7

Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, 287 (VK7:6-7 has
267, which is evidently a scribal
error) Crowned; Mārga Śukla 15
(Agrahāyana Pūrnimā) 295

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 295-Bhādṛa Kṛṣṇa
9, 299 (V131b:4)

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 6, 299 (VK8:2)
Crowned; Kārttika Śukla 2, 301

Pauṣa Śukla 7, 305 (VK8:6) Crowned
307 Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 6

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 313-Śrāvāga Śukla 3,
317

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 312--Māgh Śukla
Śauridivasa 320.

The Early Mallas
NS 321/AD 1200 -- NS 515/AD 1395

Arimalla	Karttika Šukla 10, 321 - Jyeſṭha Kṛṣṇa 7, 336
Abhayamalla	Jyeſṭha Šukla 15, 337 - Āṣāḍha Šukla 8, 375
Jayadeva	Āśvina Kṛṣṇa 2, 374 (V ₁ 39a:3) Mārga Šukla 15, 377 (V ₁ 37b:1-2) Crowned twice? Ruled for 2 years and 7/8 months Bhādra 377
Jayabhīmadeva	Caitra Šukla 5, 380 - Pauṣa Šukla 12, 390 ¹
Jayasimhamalla	Āśvina 10, 391 - ?
Jayānantamalla	Caitra Šukla 9, 395 - Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 13, 428
Jayānandamalla	Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa 9, 434 - Śrāvana Šukla 1, 438
Jayārimalla	Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 440 (V ₂ 44a:2) Crowned; Āśvina Šukla 8, 464, died in an earthquake in Devpātan (V ₂ 51a:1)
The Throne of Nepal Vacant ?	
Jayarājadeva	Āśvina Šukla 8, 464 - Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 3, 467. VK (13:7), however, shows that Jayarājadeva was already crowned, with the consent of both the Royal Houses, on Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 4, 464. This must be a scribal error for 467 as Jayārimalla, the legitimate ruler, was still alive till Āśvina Šukla 7, 464
Jayārjunadeva	Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa 4, 467 (V ₁ 28b:1-2) Crowned with the consent of both the Royal Houses - Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8, 481 -
Jayasthitirājamalla	Vaiśākha Šukla 2, 480 (?) - Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 (died in the Kāthā Chem confinement)
Jayasthitirājamalla	Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 - Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 6, 515.
